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COERCION.

Workingmen are Marched to the Polls and Voted.

CAPITALISTS AROUSED.

Last Week's Municipal Election in Wilmerding, Pa., Brought out, not only the Fact that the Democratic and the Republican Party are Absolutely at One in their Class Hostility to the Working Class, but that they Stand Ready to Violate the Suffrage Laws Just as Soon as the Class-Conscious Working-Man Starts to Use his Ballot.

WILMERDING, Pa., Feb. 25.—The municipal elections are over, and the Republicans are declared victorious. Victorious, I said? Well, that is the technical term; but to look at them one would not think so. Indeed, they have every reason to feel bad; and they will feel a good deal worse before the S. L. P. is through with them.

That workingmen are coerced by their employers on election day is a well known thing. But never until now, I believe, has the practice been carried quite as brazenly as at this municipal election.

It happened that by some mistake the Republican ticket did not get on the official ballot. That left only Socialist Labor party ticket there, as the Democrats had no ticket, they having combined with the Republicans in sight of the threatening growth of the S. L. P., or workingmen's vote. That was victory enough for us in this campaign. The scales fell from many a pair of eyes hitherto blind; Democratic workingmen, who had always believed that the Republicans were bad, Republican workingmen, who had always believed that the Democrats were bad, now rubbed their eyes in wonder, and began to recall the words of the Socialists to the effect that the Democratic and the Republican party were identical,—both being the parties of our fleecers, the capitalist class. The fusion of these two against us was first-class object lesson. We went into the campaign with corresponding fire; carried on an extensive agitation; and on election day turned up at the polls ready for battle.

There we found, to our surprise, that the enemy was not on deck,—it was not on the official ballot. We were jubilant at this added proof of the foes' boasted "intelligence": common workingmen had understood the laws better than learned capitalists. But the absence of the foe from the official ballot caused it presently to turn up with a peculiar vehemence.

Not being on the official ballot they had to use stickers. This exposed them all the more to defeat. It was the dread of this almost certain defeat that drove them to dropping the mask of external propriety. Their shops were promptly shut, and headed by their Superintendents, the workingmen, the employés, were brazenly marched to the polls and VOTED. This fraud was all the easier because the Republicans had all the Election Inspectors and Clerks; these shut their eyes,—and the outrage was committed.

Whether even so the Democratic-Republican capitalists could have won is doubtful. There are ample reasons to believe that the S. L. P. vote was counted out sufficiently to elect the capitalist combine.

It is no wonder that a victory of this nature does not leave the fleecers' class in very joyful mood; it was dearly bought; doubly dear; dearly in that it was bought at the expense of the fiction about Democrats and Republicans being different, and dearly also in that it was bought at the expense of prestige and by fraud.

It is the Socialists who won the moral victory; a moral victory that will soon be transformed into a very practical one.

In the meantime, while both the Old Parties are being unmasked here, they are going through the forms of a battle among themselves at Harrisburg over Quay's election to the Senate! In the meantime, while such brazen onslaughts are made right here upon freedom, our Capitalist Government is slaughtering Filipinos preparatory to initiating them in the ways of freedom!

Jas. Allman lectures this evening, March 5, on "Philosophy of War" at 76th street and Third avenue (34th and 35th A. D.), this city.

Jacob Seidel will lecture on the 7th instant at 65 Columbia street (12th A. D.), this city.

Jas. Allman lectures March 3, on the "Evolution of Modern Socialism," at 98 Avenue C (16th A. D.), this city.

Chas. Hartstein lectures this evening, March 5, on "The Social Problem: Can it be Solved?", at 98 Avenue C (16th A. D.), this city.

A. S. Brown lectures this evening, March 5, on "The Labor Movement in America," at 414 East 71st street (26th A. D.), this city.

Ben Hanford lectures on the 4th instant on "Free American Workingmen," at Giebel's Hall, 94 Danforth avenue (Greenville), Jersey City.

A NEW YORK POLICY SHOP.

How Yellow Journalism Is Used to Debauch and Entrap the Workers.

To the Socialist reader the most useful capitalist newspaper in the United States is the New York "Sun." Not because it is truthful; nor yet because it prints all the news. The first it is not; the latter it does not. But always and ever it is capitalist, both in its editorial and news columns. Always for the capitalist class, and openly so. Never Socialistic, let alone Socialist. Never reactionary; never a slanting eye to the middle class, nor a wink to the working class. In the interest of the class it represents so correctly and so ably the "Sun" will risk everything, do anything—lie in its editorial columns; lie in its news columns; suppress news; and, if it may gain a point thereby, "edit" the official language of a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as witness its reports of the Income tax case. But one knows where to find the "Sun." When it lies it lies for a purpose, and always on the same side. And to one who knows capitalism "figs of thistles" are rather to be sought than truth in the mouthpiece of the capitalist class. To the Socialist the "Sun" is an open enemy, not a pretended friend, nor ambushed foe. Its editorials relating to Socialism and trade unionism and workingmen generally often show irritation, and anger, but never rabies nor a madness bereft of method.

But there is in New York one paper that deserves attention from Socialists other than it would receive viewed merely as a capitalist enterprise.

The New York "Journal," William Randolph Hearst proprietor and putative editor, differs greatly from the New York "Sun." To be sure, its editorials are equally brilliant, and its news columns full as full of lies—both by the expression of falsehood and the suppression of truth. But the "Journal" differs from the "Sun" in that the former makes special pretense and loud acclaim that it is working for humanity and fighting the cause of labor. It would have us believe that it is the doughty champion of the working class; the strong defender of the middle class; and is to be the great destroyer of the Trusts. It will take any one or all of these positions in as many days, or on the same day. And perhaps cap all by some fatherly advice to the capitalist himself.

The fact that it is impossible to serve the interests of the working class and the middle or capitalist classes at the same time is an unimportant trifle to the editor of the "Journal." What cares he for the impossible, with McEwen and Brisbane coming at his nod, and Davenport at his call? And the Trusts, the natural, necessary and most potential force in present capitalist society—these Trusts are to totter and topple and tumble and crumble at the terrific din of his editorial tin pan.

To Socialists it is a matter of no great importance as to what is the genuine belief of the "Journal's" editor, and I will not presume to say. He may or may not be the possessor of a political principle, and, if so, may himself be unaware of its nature, but so far he has successfully concealed it from others. But there have lived persons who mistook thunder for the voice of God, and people still live who think that anything with a greenish tinge is grass, and who think that if an expression or phrase be radical or extreme it is therefore Socialist or Socialistic. That such persons may be in a position to see the motive force of the "Journal's" editorials is my present purpose, and in carrying out that purpose I propose to look over a part of the editorial record of that paper during its short life under its present management and ownership.

Prior to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1896, Mr. Hearst's paper was against free silver, and the "Journal's" choice for the nomination, supposing one might believe its editorial utterances, was that "good friend of the people and great foe of the Trusts," Mr. William C. Whitney. At that time the "Journal's" editor was writing of the sacred cause as "The Free Silver Lunacy," and in the "Journal" of June 18, 1896, said:

> But when they [Silver Democrats] suggest as a remedy the free and independent coinage of silver at 16 to 1 it becomes necessary for people having at heart the welfare of the business community, the maintenance of values and the stability and permanence of property to protest and to exert every possible political force to avert such action. To Combat the Fanaticism of Silver Extremists in the Democratic party Mr. Whitney must formulate a programme and make a concession.

The "Journal" then went on to formulate the programme for Mr. Whitney, and declared the concession to be that Mr. Whitney consent to become the candidate of the Democratic party for President of the United States, adding: "This trust he cannot lightly set aside; this duty he cannot shirk."

Not immediately after the Chicago Convention, which in its platform declared the money question from the free silver standpoint to be the issue "paramount to all others," did the "Journal" come out as the supporter of both the platform and its candidate. For a few days, doubtless until the editor had secured "recognition" from certain Democratic party leaders, it still was against free silver.* While

*I would not by any means say that young Mr. Hearst had reached the degree of moral turpitude to which old Mr. Pulitzer has descended; chiefly because I cannot link youth with such baseness. But one of the great forces which doubtless finally brought the "Journal" to the unqualified support of the Chicago platform and ticket was the vacillation of the "World." For some time after the National Conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties the "World" was afraid to

(Continued on page 2.)

SOCIALIST TRENCHANT DIALECTICS.

Press Committee of Section Worcester, Mass., S. L. P., Answers in the Worcester "Telegram" the Assaults of J. W. Hall and Rev. Fr. R. S. J. Burke, Made in that Paper, Upon Socialism.

Are all owls wise, pa?

No, my son. Some owls hoot a great deal without knowing what they are hooting about.—(Puck.)

That one of Mr. Hall's well known piety should seek refuge in scripture, or that he should take the particular parable literally as a defense of usury rather than the following one in the same chapter, Matthew 25, does not surprise us; it is perfectly natural. (As a man thinks, so is he.—Fr. Burke.)

Quotations from scripture have ever been the authority of those whose interests were threatened. There was the clack of the American tory preceding the revolution: "The king is the appointed of God; to rebel against the king is a rebellion against the most high."

The condoning of our late system of chattel slavery was "Cussed be Canaan." And now it is quoted against the Socialist with the same results in all probability, for Socialism is greater than any of the parties to this controversy. But in passing we may call attention to other matters in the word: Dives and Lazarus, sermon on the mount, eye of the needle, scourging of the money changers from the temple, etc. But the devil is said to be an adept at quoting from the scripture, hence we have chosen the text at the head of this article.

As Mr. Hall has seen fit to take literally a parable beautiful as a metaphor, but literally—well—we will consider it. But first let us moderaize and bring it up to date.

A certain man in easy circumstances was about to take a trip to Europe, so he gave to each of his three servants a sum of money to invest as they judged best. To the first he gave five talents, to the second two, to the third one talent.

Upon his return he

CALLED FOR AN ACCOUNTING.

The first two had increased their seven talents to 14 in the following manner:

"We opened a vineyard in Wall street. We married your daughter to a bankrupt foreign count, for we say you had no use for the Fourth of July, neither had joy in the feast of St. Patrick. We hired sweet singers to sing songs of a good time coming, of a prosperity that was yet in a far country, but would come to them when the wind should change and blow down: of a boom in business when the naked kids of Porto Rico should wear calico shirts by military request, and when the Filipinos should ride the bicycle bareback.

"With a portion of your talents we purchased seats in the Congress, for we discovered (being men of brains), that to go down upon the Jericho road and hold up the individual traveler, was no longer considered good form, was too slow, a petty retail business anyway.

"So we had laws passed whereby we might arrive at the same results to the pilgrim at wholesale rates, saving our time to bury pug dogs in satin lined rosewood, and cultivate our brains by devising balls for the 400, where dress suits should be worn hind side before, and in other like intelectual diversions.

"And, moreover, there were not wanting certain lightweights, vain in the possession of a few shekels, who imagined the earth quaked from the pressure of their feet, and even priests of the temple, who evidently knew better, volunteered to shout fool and Anarchist when any called attention to the gathering storm and honestly sought a shelter. But it is also written, 'The fool hath said there is no God.'"

Then the master called the servant unto whom the one talent had been given. And he said:

"Master here it is! I saw that those to whom you had given the seven talents were forming a combine or rather an agreement between gentlemen, and I buried my one talent in the ground, lest they swipe it also, for I saw that of themselves they digged not and, moreover one talent no longer harvested any ice, but was endangered.

"I saw the empty workshops, tenements and stores of those who had but one or two talents; even these were no longer in it. Even thy servant Ransom had money, although a man of many talents.

"I examined the methods by which thy servants with the seven talents cultivated their vineyard; that though they made no talents yet they acquired money; that many who entered the front gate heavy with shekels retired

BY THE BACK GATE IN BALLAST.

I saw that by holding a piece of the earth until it would pay an increased per cent. by taxing the people, they raised a great shout of the increasing wealth of the country, and the people heard but still were not quite satisfied for the jingle of silver was not in their pockets. I saw that their method of husbandry, while seeming to produce great immediate results, was full of strange contradictions; that while talents increased in their purses, the people worked hard or not at all; that the souphouse was becoming a dangerous rival to the hotel, and shank's mare was beating the railroad train; that there was an increasing burden of care upon those who had many talents; that those who had few were in reduced circumstances from loss of income; some had few shekels and others none at all; that all were becoming more as the ass, who toils from the rising of the sun even until the going down of the same for something to eat and a place to sleep.

"So take back your one talent, it only removes the owner one more day from the poorhouse."

Then said the master, being a man of some sense: "Verily, there is much truth in what thou sayest, though I have never looked at it in that way. Draw up and have an Havana and a glass of champagne while I consider, although as a rule I do not deem them wholesome for a common vineyard hand."

Fr. Burke threw Bismarck at us. Hall, Bismarck, Burke; atheism, militarism, theism.

There is a trinity to make angels weep and devils dance for joy. What is our crime that these should be arraigned against us? We have submitted for investigation an idea for a social organization that might make this a better world and life worth living.

Mr. Hall, you should be more observing. It was not the Socialists who would make the world a Shaker settlement for the production of apple "sass," but your reverend accessory that proposed to re-establish the mediaeval monastery where men and women should dwell under vows of economy, chastity and poverty. You must be more careful what company you keep until you arrive at the age of discernment. As you acknowledge that the only way that property can be acquired is by plunder; have reduced our Christian civilization to two classes,

ROBBERS AND FOOLS,

no further argument is necessary.

Now, J. W., if you could only tone down your language and try to be less bloodthirsty, we might hope to convert you from Anarchy to Socialism. 'Tis more rational and peaceful. Please post up before you call again. We enjoy your conversation, but it's mighty wrenching to kick at nothing.

We don't often quote poetry, but reading the scriptures has inspired us, so we dedicate the following to our critics:

THE OWNERS OF THE UNIVERSE.

Let us corner up the sunbeams
Lying all around our path;
Get a trust on wheat and roses,
Give the poor the thorns and chaff,
Let us find our chiefest pleasure
Hoarding bounties of to-day.
So the poor shall have scant measure
And two prices have to pay.

Yes; we'll reservoir the rivers
And we'll levy on the lakes,
And we'll lay a trifling toll tax
On each poor man who partakes.
We will brand his number on him
That he'll carry through his life;
We'll apprentice all his children,
Get a mortgage on his wife.

We will capture e'en the wind-god
And confine him in a cave,
And then, through our patent process,
We the atmosphere will save.
Thus we'll squeeze our little brother
When he tries his lungs to fill;
Put a meter on his wind-pipe,
And present our little bill.

We will syndicate the starlight,
And monopolize the moon!
Claim a royalty on rent-daws,
A proprietary noon:
For right of way through ocean's spray
We'll pay just what it's worth;
We will drive our stakes around the lakes,
In fact we'll own the earth.

In our answer to Mr. Burke we shall quote from different Socialist writers. "Our critic says that Socialism would

TAKE AWAY MAN'S INDIVIDUALITY,

dignity, responsibility, etc." If Mr. Burke, instead of making so many assertions, will kindly furnish a little proof of this, we will be eternally obliged to him; for ourselves, we fail to understand how by hanging the ownership of capital from private to public (thus abolishing rent, interest and profit and enabling each worker to get the full equivalent in value of that labor), can do any such thing.

Will our critic please tell us where is the "dignity," "individuality," etc., of the slaves working in our factories for $4, or less, per week, and also where was the individuality, etc., of the miners in Spring Valley, Ill., who a few years ago volunteered to go into slavery, if the masters would undertake the care of their families, their condition was so unbearable?

We might continue these illustrations of the "dignity," "individuality," etc. of the wage workers under capitalism, but we think enough has been shown to enable any unprejudiced persons to see that it is not the Socialism that is coming, but the capitalist monopolies that are here, that take away man's "individuality" and initiative. The intensity of the selfish scramble in which we are all compelled to engage, gives but little scope to the natural development of one's better "individuality." That man who for 10 hours or more daily has to sacrifice the best that is in him, to the exactions of commercial or industrial life, is a man of business, or an industrial slave, and little less. The dull level of mediocrity, so often prophesied of Socialism, is painfully apparent here, and now to those who have the eyes to see.

Who has the most chance to develop his "individuality," even under this

(Continued on page 4.)

DRIVEN TOGETHER.

The Democratic and Republican Parties United to Defeat the Workingman.

STONEBORO, Pa., Feb. 21.—The capitalist parties of Stoneboro have made to the workingmen and other honest people of that neighborhood an open confession of the lying and the deceit that they have been indulging in in the past, when they used to assail each other, each saying that the other was no good and a very bad case that needed watching (which seems to have been the case) to create the impression that they had separate policies. Fearing a Socialist success in the Borough spring election, the Republicans and Democrats have "fused," "endorsed" each other, etc., and have one common ticket in the field against the workingmen.

Those who have been of the belief that there was any fundamental or even important surface difference between these parties, can now change their mind for they have "fessed up. Those who have been chosing between two evils, instead of fighting all evils, will now have to adopt new tactics, since both of their evils have formed a trust of their own, and "combined on the main issue," leaving the only choice now between Socialism and Capitalism. Those who had their doubts about the genuineness of the Socialist Labor party as a labor party, have now seen the last vestage of a decent reason for doubts taken away by this action of the two old parties, who, not only stopped their sham battle, but united to defend themselves from the workingmen who they know are camping on their trail, thus recognizing us as their common enemy and showing their fear, which comes from a guilty conscience.

The salaries and possibilities attached to these small offices being in danger of being gobbled up by Socialists is not a sufficient reason for their actions. The Democrats would be as well of whether the Republicans or the Socialists captured these plums, and the Republicans would not win their prerequisites any more by having the Socialists at the crib than if it were the Democrats instead. No; they have been holding the government as their tower of strength, by keeping the workingmen majority divided on any and all "issues" that could be raised, and the sight of a possible majority of undivided workers marching straight to the key of all their supremacy, with the firm determination to take possession of it, and being perfectly able to do so whenever they are able to understand what is wanted and why, and how, at once throws them in such a flurry that they abandon their bunco game and come out in the open which makes the fight plain.

That they fear and hate the Socialists more than they do each other is by this act spread to the winds and in every direction from here let the ear of the workingmen catch the tidings and repeat them well, adding the reason that this hatred and fear exist, which is not as some thoughtless ones might imagine a fear for the commonweal or their own personal safety;—these are not threatened, and if they were, the capitalists would be safe, since on those lines they have everything their own way and no place where Socialism has yet set its foot has it been unwise enough to abandon its resistless policy of "revolution by the peaceful and legal means of the ballot."

This combination of both parties leaves the labor fakir out in the cold also, since there is nothing left for him to "endorse" except the bosses' party or the men's party.

Either course will satisfy us. The unfortunate man who insisted on fusion to gain a step at a time, has his fusion, and it is to be hoped that he will get his step also—whichever way he choses so long as he steps off the neutral ground.

By the time that this is heard of, the election will have taken place. We hope for results that will show in the returns, but if nothing more is gained this bright spot remains to cheer on the Stoneboro Socialists, that by their entering the local political field they caused the two old parties to take a step that will cause the scales to fall off the eyes of any person that has eyes to see and ears to hear, and time is sure of its harvest. Never tire of telling how you caused the capitalists to expose themselves, and to point out the lesson.

A. WILLING HERALD.

* * *

LATER.—The S. L. P. ticket of Stoneboro won in several instances. It elected one Councilman out of the four and tied with a second. It elected one School Director out of four, and tied with another. It also elected the Judge of Elections and the Inspector of Elections.

* * *

At the San Antonio, Tex., municipal elections just held, the S. L. P. candidate for Alderman at large, Frank Leitner, polled 350 votes. Last November the whole County gave the S. L. P. 292 votes.

* * *

Elizabeth Township, Pa., has just elected the S. L. P. candidate minority Election Inspector. With his clerk the S. L. P. now has two men on the Board, and secures a fair count.

* * *

McKeesport's S. L. P. municipal vote runs up as high as 164 for Select Council.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

STEP TAKEN

From the Sublime to the Ridiculous by Chicago Capitalism.

SOLDIERS AS "SUPES".

The Various Occupations that the now Discarded "Boys in Blue" have to Take to in Chicago—They are Pluck-me-stored at $1.15 Wages a Day—They are Turned into "Supes" After Having Starred in Cuba while the Capitalist "Supe" Officials are Being Feasted—They are Put to Choring and Lodged in Lofts.

CHICAGO, Ill., Feb. 27.—New York may be the Empire City, and in many respects she may be the head of the Nation's capitalism; but Chicago, if not chief in many of the distinctive features of capitalist conditions, is at least abreast of New York in this respect, that here capitalism does produce some of its most raw-boned pictures. This is just now experienced by our "heroes," our "soldier boys," etc.

It is not many months ago that these soldiers staggered under the weight of praises. No adjective was to good to be bestowed upon them by the Chicago capitalist press; and the gaping multitude looked on wonderingly at these newly discovered portents. How true it is that "Words cost nothing, but money buys whiskey" is now found out. Our heroes have conquered empires for us, they have starved, bled, suffered hardships for us; now that their work is done, where are they? A few clippings from our local papers lie before me, and answer the question.

ITEM.—A certain foundry in this city, moved no doubt by the aftermaths of patriotism, offered to give all soldiers who weighed over 160 pounds work at the munificent wage of $1.15 a day. The work that these heroes were expected to do was handling iron ore. But, aware of the proverb that "Charity is not incompatible with 6 per cent.," the bounteously patriotic concern attached a condition to the offer and the job. The 160-pound heroes who took the $1.15 jobs were to board in the company's boarding houses, and pay for the privilege $4.50 a week. The net cash that the scheme allowed the heroes to keep by this veiled pluck-me-store plan was $2.40 a week!—Who would not be a soldier boy for Capital?!

ITEM.—Eight of the "Boys in Blue" were taken "from under the rain" and provided by the patriotic Dearborn Theater with good occupation. They are there employed as "supes" for the "Girl I Left Behind Me"!—There are those around here who think the jobs given to these particular "Boys in Blue" furnish a case of insult added to injury. Their Colonels, Lieutenants and so on who "stormed the glory capped hill of San Juan" from safe distances and beyond the reach of Spanish bullets, should be used as "supes," not the deluded "Boys in Blue" who did the actual work and were the real "stars" of that performance.

ITEM.—"Wanted—A bright young man," is the "ad" one soldier answered at a North Side apartment house. It developed "a bright young man" was wanted to tend to four furnaces, wash the dishes, and do the chores for the owners of the four furnaces. The compensation was board and lodging only. The lodging was in the loft of a barn. The soldier took the position rather than be dependent upon charity.—And there our "Boy in Blue" is now, probably happy at the comforts that American Trusts, now cropping up everywhere in Cuba, will derive from his patriotic abnegation.

ITEM.—"Orderly Lynch, of the Seventh Regiment, has been tendered 12 positions and is idle yet. He had chances to sell cheap baking powder at 40 cents a pound, sewing machines at $65, and was told that, if he deposited $25, he could have the privilege of selling books on a commission."

It is said that the children of the great Athenian Aristides earned their living, after their father's death, as jugglers around the Parthenon; and the instance is flimsily quoted as an evidence of the ingratitude of Republics. But American capitalism goes the Athenians several better. It does not wait for a chance to humiliate the descendants of its heroes; it starts with the heroes themselves: it uses them like lemons; squeezes and then throws them into the ash-barrel.

A summary of the sentences pronounced in Italy last year upon the workingmen and others arrested during the "May riots" shows a total of 249,916 liras (a lira is 20 cents) of fines, and a total of 49 centuries, 92 years, 2 months and 2 days of imprisonments.

An S. L. P. man up the State reports the following little dialogue between his two small boys:

Boy No. 1—"Have there not been animals as big as a house? What has become of them?"

Boy No. 2—"They ate up everything in sight and then dropped themselves."

This certainly is instinctive Socialism.

THE PEOPLE.

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ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

OCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2.068
In 1890	13.331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21.157
In 1894	33.133
In 1896 (Presidential	36.564
In 1898	**82,204**

The Voice of Time cries to man, Advance! Time is for his advancement, for his greater happiness, for his better life, for his progress onward to the goal within his knowledge and his view. Millions have suffered, lived and died to point the way before him. Who seeks to stop him or to stay him in his course arrests a mighty engine which will strike the meddler dead, and be the fiercer and the wilder ever for its momentary check.

CHAS. DICKENS.

THE POWER OF POLITICAL POWER.

The points in connection with the row betwen the Gould Manhattan Elevated Road and Tammany Hall are as numerous and luscious as ripe Catawba grapes pendent from a thick raceme. Last week we culled one grape; to-day we shall cull another.

Every time that a half class-conscious stirring among the proletariat has caused it to turn its eyes toward and stretch out its arm to grasp the political power, a cry of indignation went up from the capitalist camp. This cry ran to a variety of tunes. Among the loudest, if not the loudest of all, was the tune:

"You can't grow rich by Legislation."

That legislation is neither natural opportunities, nor machinery of production, nor yet labor everyone knows. That, consequently, legislation can not produce a pin's head of wealth goes without saying. That, however, legislation is a remarkable engine to distribute wealth, and, consequently, to dispose of the wealth that is produced, our capitalists seek to conceal as much as possible. So far they have succeeded quite well. To their success in this direction is the presence in their hands of the wealth of the nation to be ascribed. They managed to get the political power into their own hands,—that political power that they make the workers believe is worthless, and which the workers accordingly throw away—, and with that derrick in their grasp they have yanked into their own pockets and out of the hands of the workers the fabulous wealth that these produce. Occasionally, however, the truth is rubbed under the workers' noses by these capitalists themselves. When thieves fall out, the proverb teaches, honest men come by their own. The falling out of Tammany Hall and the Elevated Company is revealing to the workers the secret, mystical power that is latent in Public Power.

The Tammany Hall Company—what else is it but a business concern?—wants to make money: it is "short" on Elevated stock, it wants to turn the Elevated structure to use in the laying of its compressed air pipes, it seeks to unite in this city, as it has been doing in Brooklyn, the Elevated and the surface city roads under the management of its own Sachems, etc., etc. Many, if not all of these wishes, are in conflict with the interests of the Elevated Company. A struggle ensues. And what do we see? One Public Power field-piece after another, held by Tammany, turned upon the Manhattan:—the Health Department, the Park Department, the Department of Public Works, the Board of Aldermen, the Mayor, each of these field-pieces begins to blaze away, their muzzles centred upon the Manhattan Company.

What will be the issue? Simply according as the Gould Company will be able to turn other and more powerful Public Power field-pieces upon Tammany. The Gould side has the Legislature, the Governor, many a Judge, etc. The issue of the struggle will depend, like in all battles, upon the strength of and the strategic position occupied by the opposing batteries.

While watching the battle, the working class of New York will be watching a sight from which pregnant lessons may be drawn.

What if the powerful Public Power field-pieces, that Tammany is now training upon the Manhattan, had been taken by the workingmen of New York themselves, instead of being given by them to Tammany Hall? Would then the issue be whether the Tammany capitalists shall rake in millions, or whether Anna Gould's red marble renaissance palace shall have to stop building because of a decline in dividends? No; the issue would then have been higher wages for the employés and lower hours; better, fitter conditions for the toilers.

That chance has been missed; but it will recur.

Let the proper use be made of it here, everywhere till a sufficient number of Public Power field-pieces shall be in the hands of the Nation's workers—all pointing point blank upon the rule of capitalism.

ENTHUSIASM BY THE $$

It is not often that occasion offers to prove crushingly the connection between "noble enthusiasm" and material interests, and thus to demonstrate the important fact that views, opinions, sentiments, etc., are essentially only reflexes of man's physical needs. As a rule, that which is enthused over can be so tricked out as very much to conceal and blur the connection between the effect and the real cause. Quite recently, however, a scene took place in this city that brings out clearly the principle.

There is in this country an organization called Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. Its purpose is to secure tariff legislation with an eye to preventing American travelers in Europe from making large purchases there, and in that way increase sales here. The President of the Association is one Shayne. The body had a banquet, and Shayne made an address. The reports of the affair were remarkable.

Shayne's address was clumsy, low, vulgar, and yet none of Blaine's most impassioned orations ever did, in our days, arouse the paroxysms of enthusiasm that Shayne's address aroused from the banqueting members of the Association. When he told how, since (thanks to his lobbying work) the present Custom House regulations pry into the trunks of American travelers from Europe, one Paris firm's sales had come down $50,000 a year, the guests jumped up with cries of "Patriotism!", "Patriotism!"; and when he summed up the various items, and declared that $100,000,000 had thus been turned into the coffers of "our American merchants and manufacturers," the joy of these merchants and manufacturers knew no bounds; they became delirious; jumping on their chairs and even on the tables, they broke forth into the anthem "My Country it is of thee!"—

Where the material interests are groveling in their nature, the "noble enthusiasm" they evoke will be low, despicable, and harmful. Only where the material interests are helpful to civilization, like in the instance of class-conscious proletarian interests, is the enthusiasm they evoke noble indeed. The nobility of the enthusiasm of the Shaynes, of the capitalist in general, implies a degraded, impoverished people; the nobility of the enthusiasm of the proletariat implies a free, happy, civilized race.

The attention of the party membership and readers in general, residing outside of New York, is called to the report of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, printed on the fourth page of this issue.

The report concerns all party members, however distant their own Section may be, on the ground of its relating to the election of the party's National Officers, whose election is entrusted to the Sections located in Greater New York. It concerns, moreover, all members and friends in that it throws light upon and helps outsiders (outside of New York) to understand one of the serious difficulties that the movement in this city has long had to contend with.

Already about two months ago, the note of warning was sounded in these columns by exposing the unworthy attacks—unworthy because covert, and in violation of its own constitution—, made by the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" against the tactics upon which the party has grown, prospered and become respected; the report of the General Committee of Section Greater New York now brings wholesale and ampler information in line with the subject broached at the time.

The manifold and ripening manifestations of this serious difficulty that the Socialist Movement in this region has had to contend with are no evidence of decline, or a source of danger. On the contrary, they are the result of the party's growth and increasing vigor. Nevertheless, they arise from circumstances that the party at large will eventually, if not sooner, have to take in hand and dispose of. Information upon the subject can not be too fully given, or too soon.

The Brooklyn Elevated Railroad Company, which controls the Brooklyn Bridge Railroad, gave notice last Monday that, beginning Wednesday the number of local bridge cars operated between the morning and evening rush hours, would be reduced one-third. This will throw about twenty trainmen out of employment. In addition, notice was also given that the rate of wages paid the men who man the bridge cars would be reduced at the same time from $2 to $1.50 a day.

When the city operated the bridge railroad the trainmen were paid $2.75 and $3 a day each. When the Brooklyn Elevated Company secured control the wages of these men were cut to $2. The notice of a second cut in wages caused a great deal of grumbling among the men.

How many of these "displaced" and "reduced" men can go home and see their wives in face, and not have to feel ashamed having to admit to themselves that they did not last November do anything to ward off this calamity? Few, if any, voted the Socialist Labor party ticket; that was not "practical." A vote for Van Wyck or Roosevelt evidently was the most thrown away of all the workingmen's votes.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Utica, N. Y., "Advocate" seems still to be in the rudimental stage on the Trust question. It consoles itself with be belief that

The people who sell out to the Trusts of to-day are not going to live in idleness. In nearly all cases where a manufacturer sells his plant to a Trust he enters into an agreement that he will not embark in the same kind of business within a certain period. But the maximum time is generally about five years, and therefore the safeguard to the Trust is not great. That manufacturers will, at the first possible opportunity, start plants to compete with the ones recently owned by them may be taken for granted.

That competition breeds monopoly, and monopoly, in turn, breeds competition is what may be called a "season truth," i. e., a truth that varnishes with time.

At an early stage, the large earnings of monopoly certainly generate competition against itself; this competition, however, gravitates back towards subsequent monopoly; at that second stage monopoly no doubt again generates competition by reason of its earnings. But already at this second stage the field for competition is narrowed; competition will and does arise, but it can arise only among larger capitalist aggregations than did at first, and, consequently, upon a narrower field. Such competition will again result in monopoly, and that tertiary monopoly will again generate competition; but again the field for that will be narrowed still more, because of the still larger aggregations of capital needed to compete with the increased force of the third stage monopoly. Thus it will go on, competition breeding monopoly, and monopoly, in turn, breeding competition, but the field for the latter narrowing down more and more from stage to stage until the possibility or "potentiality" of competition remains only in theory, with monopoly as the actual fact.

Thus the prospect of Trust stockholders falling out and returning to competition becomes more and more a will-o'-the-wisp.

The very papers that egged on the war, that declaimed loudest upon the self-sacrificing patriotism of our whole people, and that could not tire to falsify the facts by asserting that capitalists were foremost in this work of abnegation, are now gloating over and publishing as a good joke the below bit of satire:

Who would not be a soldier,
And with the soldiers stand,
A gun upon his shoulder,
A cartridge in his hand,
And eat beef, beef,
Army canned beef,
Deodorized, cauterized, algerized beef,
Beef, beef, graveyard-brand beef,
Eganized, paralized, criticised beef.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle," taking in hand a certain "reform" paper for its opinion that there is "no difference between the several Socialist parties of the land," makes the following well measured observations:

Honor bright, now, can you really see no difference "in the demands" of these different parties? If not, you are to be pardoned for many things. But if a man could distinguish no difference between red and blue he wouldn't make much of an artist, would he?

In your mind is there no difference between the straight collectivism of the S. L. P. platform, and the "Farmers' Demands" of the S. D. P. platform? Can you not see that the former strikes a blow at all special privilege, and the latter proposes to continue a large section of our population in the very essence of special privilege,—private ownership of the land?

Johnny—"What's the difference between a lemon and a rubber ball."

Tommy—"I dunno."

Johnny—"Well, you'd be a darn pretty feller to send after lemons."

This just criticism will no doubt evoke from certain quarters the howl of "mud-slinging." We feel certain, however, that the howl will not disturb our San Francisco comrade's flow of witty satire.

Sayeth the Newburyport, Mass., "Daily News":

We are told that in a factory in Haverhill a case of sudden death, with particularly sad circumstances, was kept from one of the employés of a factory there until too late for him to be of assistance to a very near and dear relative. The story has been told with some details, it appearing in the columns of this paper a few days ago. This may be true, but we are not yet ready to accept the version of it that has been printed. But supposing it was true. Supposing that one of the manufacturers of Haverhill is so hard-hearted as to enforce a rule under such circumstances as those related, is that a good reason for the passage of a law such as has been proposed?

The law proposed seems too severe to this paper; yet it and its kind will fly off the handle at the slightest "labor riot" as a pretext to increase the army, the militia, the police force. Does Labor do anything that does not suit Messrs. Capitalists? That is immediate reason for shooting Labor down in the back as was done at Hazleton, and it is not sufficient reason to hang the murderous Sheriff who executed the deed. But when a capitalist commits an offence against humanity, the act is doubted, and "even if true" is no reason to guard against them!

Is this capitalist press' logic bad? By no means. It is perfectly correct—from the capitalist standpoint, as correct as rapine is the logic of the Bashibazouk.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

A N. Y. Policy Shop.

(Continued from page 1.)

certain misguided but honest men, who knew the alphabet of political economy, but had not then learned to read its pages, and some other honest persons of a temperament yielding more readily to enthusiasm than to sense, were supporting the Chicago platform and candidate, not because of, but in spite of free silver; because it was in their mind "revolutionary," "a new declaration of independence," "a step in the right direction," etc., the New York "Journal," while pretending to support both candidates and platform, was, in its traitorous way, really damning both.

On July 14, 1896, the "Journal" said that the platform adopted by the convention, "with the exception of the financial plank, was moderate, well-considered and cautiously progressive," and "the elements supposed to represent revolutionary ideas were helpless and in disrepute." In the same issue it said that "the free silver plank in the platform may have been a mistake," and inferentially then and on other occasions advocated the election of Free Silver Bryan, but at the same time a sound money Congress, on the 14th of July, 1896, declaring:

There is an abundant scope for anti-silver work in the East. Cool, reasonable arguments, free from vituperation or falsehood, should be able to elect a sufficient number of sound money Congressmen to insure the maintenance of a sound financial policy.

In plain words, it would have had the people elect Free Silver Bryan, on a platform declaring free silver to be the issue "paramount to all others," and at the same time tie his hands by the election of gold Congressmen.

Later on the "Journal" came out for free silver, the whole platform and the candidates. "The fanaticism of silver," which on June 18 threatened the "welfare of the business community," "the maintenance of values" and the "stability and permanence of property," a little later became a thing not to be dreaded and even to be wished for. The editor of the "Journal" rapidly began to see the light (or had he been "seen"), and we soon find him getting down to such bed-rock free silver arguments as this: "Will there be one rail less on the roadways or one brick less in the factories?" through a fall in the price of securities consequent upon the free coinage of silver, and, instead of the "maintenance of values" being threatened and the "permanence of property" disappearing, he declares that "for the time being values would be real, and not fictitious."

So much for the chameleon principles of the New York "Journal" in its relations to the Chicago platform. Now to look at its acts.

Said that paper on Aug. 9, 1896: "If the few may control the means of livelihood of the many, there can be no liberty," and "It is only necessary to look about us to-day * * * to estimate how slender a shred of liberty the encroachments of plutocracy have left to the people." The "Journal" said this, and then supported the Chicago platform and candidate. What was there to be found in that "moderate" and "cautiously progressive" document, declaring the money question the issue "paramount to all others," that was at all adequate to deal with such a condition as was declared by the "Journal" to be the case, even if it be admitted that an honest effort would have been made to carry out the declarations of the platform. What evidence was there that the Democratic candidate could or would capably deal with such a condition of affairs; a candidate, who, with the exception of an occassional fling at the Trusts and the Supreme Court, had lockjaw in relation to everything but free silver from the opening of the campaign until he had resigned from the army years after the campaign had closed?

The man who honestly believed that there could "be no liberty" where the "few controlled the means of livelihood of the many," and that the people had left only a "slender shred of liberty," could not but know that the time was come for a campaign of revolution, under the banner of revolution. Only a fool could believe, and only a knave would try, to unite slaves (people upon a platform that was "moderate" and "cautiously progressive."

Later we come to the "Journal's" National Policy. Note how this friend of the working class is going to help them through the National Government. "Annex Hawaii," says the "Journal." It is done. But what the working class want to annex is more wages. Has Hawaii's annexation assisted them in that? "Enlarge the National Universities at West Point and Annapolis," says Mr. Hearst. And the effect thereof on the working class would be that the army sent to shoot them down would be well officered; and that the capitalist class would replace the disappearing buffer of the middle class, which now protects it so well, with a military and naval aristocracy. "Construct a mighty navy," "Dig the Nicaragua Canal," says the "Journal." Where do the working class come in here, except to make profits for Government contractors, and put the capitalist Government in a position where, whenever revolution is threatened at home, a McKinley, or a Bryan (or a Hearst, eh?) can bring on a foreign war, feed the fires of patriotism with poisoned beef, and divert the righteous wrath of an aroused proletariat from the capitalist class to their unfortunate brothers under another flag? But digging the Nicaragua Canal. That would help the working class, if you wish to put it that way, by decreasing their number. See the canals that others have digged and tried to dig in torrid climates, and along their slimy lengths you will find the rotting bones of the

come out boldly for or against either. It was largely this weakness on the "World's" part that gave the "Journal" its opportunity to become a metropolitan exponent of the Democratic party. In watching the "Journal's" screeds against the Trusts one cannot but recall those tirades on the same subject that once were wont to fill the columns of the "World." That paper was going to have the Trusts busted by the Democratic party, too. And looking at Mr. Hearst as a politician, how can one help but recall the career of that great reform Democrat, Grover Cleveland. His utterances on the Trusts were equally denunciatory with any that have appeared in the "Journal." But when he became President, did anyone notice the flying fragments of exploding corporations? No; young Mr. Hearst is not the political bunco steerer that old Mr. Pulitzer and old Dr. Cleveland are. But I greatly fear that Mr. Hearst will age in time.

(Continued on page 3.)

Oncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—I have joined the "Tax Reformers' League of Tax-payers."

Uncle Sam—What on earth have you, a workingman, got to do with tax reform and tax-payers!?

B. J.—Am I not a tax-payer?

U. S.—Not that I know of.

B. J.—Why, of course, I am!

U. S.—Do you own land?

B. J.—Go away, no!

U. S.—Do you own houses?

B. J.—Stop your guying, of course not!

U. S.—Do you own any other property on which taxes are levied, say jewelry, fine furniture, machinery—

B. J.—Now, don't go on that way; you know I am as poor as a church mouse.

U. S.—Which is another way of saying as poor as a workingman or a wage slave, eh?

B. J.—Yes, certainly.

U. S.—This being thus, what do you pay taxes on, pray?

B. J.—Am I not a workingman?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Is not Labor the sole producer of all wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are not taxes wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Why, then, it follows that I as a member of Labor pay the taxes, and that lower taxes will make me better off.

U. S.—Oho! Did you read the account of our employers' ball last week, how my employer's wife had a diamond necklace on worth $5,000?

B. J.—Yes, and MY employer's wife had on a Brussels lace bodice worth $6,500.

U. S.—Are that diamond necklace and that Brussels lace bodice wealth or not?

B. J.—Wealth, of course.

U. S.—Produced by labor or produced by capital?

B. J. (with a look of disgust)—"By capital"? Of course not, by labor!

U. S.—Now, suppose that your employer and mine had not bought that necklace and bodice, would you and I be in the amount of money that they cost? Would we be the possessors of that $11,500? Would our wages have gone up any higher?

B. J. (scratches his ears, and after meditating a while, during which a drop of perspiration appears on his forehead)—No. We would not have been in that much more money. Our wages would not have been any higher. We would have been just as badly off as we now are. It would have made no difference to us.

U. S.—And yet that necklace and bodice are wealth, and, as such, are the product of labor.

B. J.—Yes, they are.

U. S.—Would you in the face of these facts say that, seeing luxury is wealth and labor produces all wealth, therefore, you pay for luxury, and lower or less luxury will make you better off?

B. J.—I wish there were something around here that I could sit on. I feel my head swimming.—This thing looks mixed up.—Let me see.—As Labor produces all wealth, and diamond necklaces and Brussels lace bodice are wealth, it does seem as if Labor paid for them.—But yet,——

U. S.—Go on; guess you are on the right track——

B. J.—And yet I feel mixed up.—Let me see.—If I am the man who pays for a thing, then it must follow that if the thing is not bought, I have not paid for it, and I must be in the money that the thing would have cost.

U. S.—Correct! Go on, me boy, you are doing first rate, though rather slow; go on!

B. J.—If, then, I am no more money in pocket in case the thing was not bought,—then (very deliberately—I CAN'T BE THE ONE THAT PAYS FOR IT! Ain't it?

U. S.—Just so. Go on!

B. J.—I can't. Here I am stuck fast. Help me out, if you can. I feel like one sinking in quic.. sands.

U. S.—Just hook on to me and I'll pull you out. If I go faster than you can hang on, sing out, and I will slack up. Now, listen. Your pickle comes, first, from the wrong, the misleading use you make of the word PAY. Now, hold tight! Does a man PAY out of what he HAS NOT, or out of what HE HAS?

B. J.—How can a man pay out of what he has not? He pays, of course, out of what he has.

U. S.—Correct.—Now, did we ever have in our hands the $11,500 that our employers expended in Brussels lace bodices and diamond necklaces?

B. J. (decidedly hot in the collar)—Did we? No, by thunder!

U. S.—I am glad of your emphasis. Now, stick a pin there. We did not pay for them for the simple reason that we did not have the wealth to pay with. This clears up the point why less luxury enjoyed by the employer does not mean more wealth left to us. Whether the employer indulges in luxuries or not, and whether he drops one sort of luxury and changes it for another, we are no poorer and no richer, because these luxuries are paid for by wealth that never was in our hands.

B. J.—That's certainly so.

U. S.—Now, hold tight again. We are now approaching the roughest part of the road. Our capitalist employer does not work; consequently, he does not produce any wealth. Nevertheless, he has all the wealth needed to buy luxuries with. As labor is the sole producer of all wealth, and our employer, who is an idler, can not produce any, it follows that the wealth he buys the luxuries with he must have gobbled up from us, his workingmen, who produced it.

B. J.—Just so!

U. S.—Hold tight! Here we are face to face with the central problem. We are the sole producers of all wealth; the employer, despite his being an idler, has the bulk of it to pay with for luxuries. He must have gobbled it up, and from us. But it never was in our hands. Where, when and how did he do the gobbling up? Upon the correct answer to this question depends the solution of the problem, and the wisdom or the folly of much of the tactics of the Labor Movement.

B. J.—Yes; WHERE, WHEN, and HOW?

U. S.—Where? — In THE SHOP. When? — ON PAY-DAY. HOW? — THROUG THE SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM OR WAGE SLAVERY. The wages we are given are only a small part of the wealth we produce. These wages represent the price of our labor in the market. Labor, under this system of wage slavery, is not considered a human being at all; it is only a merchandise. The value of all merchandise depends upon the cost of production. So with us, the merchandise Labor. Our price, that is our wages, is simply the cost of keeping us alive and able to procreate. This is the law of wages; and thus it comes that although we produce all the stupendous wealth of the nation, our share is small; and that just in proportion to the increased wealth we produce our share becomes smaller.

B. J.—Heaven knows, that's so!

U. S.—Now you know the WHERE, WHEN and HOW of the gobbling up.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Knowing it, you can no longer feel stuck at the sight of the fact that although we are the sole producers of all the wealth, we do not PAY for the luxuries that our employers indulge in. Those luxuries ARE paid for with wealth that we produce, but they are not paid for by US because the wealth that buys them is stolen from us before it reaches our hands; they are paid for by the employer out of that portion of our product that is stolen from us anyhow.

B. J.—But——

U. S.—One moment. You may consider this position too technical to be worth insisting on——

B. J.—That's just what I was going to say.

U. S.—Nevertheless, it is important for several reasons. It follows from that strict statement:

1. That whether the employer is a spendthrift or a miser, we are no better and no worse off;

2. That, by knowing the exact place where we are robbed, we will not spend our efforts in wrong directions trying to better ourselves.

Apply these principles to the question of taxation, and you will soon realize their far-reaching importance.

B. J. puckers up his brows.

U. S.—All the wages of the whole working class, put together, will not come anywhere near the amount of the taxes paid in the land. For the same reason that we could not have paid for the diamond necklaces and Brussels lace bodice of our employers' wives, the working class can not have paid these taxes. From year end to year end, it never had that amount of money or wealth in its hands to pay with.

Secondly, the share of the wealth that the workingman enjoys depends upon the law of wages, which you now know is regulated by the cost of production, just as with any other merchandise. Lower the cost of the necessaries of labor, and it follows the price of labor will sink proportionally. The lower the taxes, the lower is the cost of the necessaries of labor; consequently low taxes will send still lower down the percentage of the share that Labor will keep, under this capitalist system, of the fruit of its toil.

Say that the workingman needs just one loaf of bread to live. If that loaf of bread costs 5 cents, his wages must be 5 cents; he produces 100 cents' worth of wealth, out of that he receives the 5 cents for the loaf, and the employer keeps 95 cents profits.

Say the cost of the loaf is raised to 25 cents because of a tax of 20 cents on it. The cost of Labor now becomes 25 cents and his wages must rise to that point or he djes. What is the situation? The worker produces 100 cents, receives 25 cents as wages; he is no better off than before, because that 25 cents can only pay for one loaf, just as the 5 cents did before. But the employer only keeps 75 cents profits, whereas before he made 95 cents; who paid the taxes, you or he?

B. J.—He, by Jericho!

U. S.—And say that taxation is lowered and the loaf costs only one cent. Will you be in 24 cents? No. As the cost of labor has come down to 1 cent, 1 cent will have to be your wages, while the employer will then make 99 cents profits. Are you in either case better off or worse?

B. J.—In no way. But why then all this row about taxation?

U. S.—The row is between the capitalists. It is a row as to which set of them will preserve the largest share of the hide of the workers. The politicians, for instance, want higher taxes, because then they will have high salaries and perquisites; but the "reformers" want low taxes, because that means that they will keep themselves a larger share of the profits they have skinned the workers out of and that otherwise would go to the politicians, and so on.

B. J. (smiting himself on the forehead)—Heavens, how those reformers have played me for a sucker!

U. S.No doubt they have.

B. J.—All their jabber about Labor being crushed by taxes was pure bunco!

U. S.—Nothing else. By understanding that Labor is robbed in the shop, the voter will devote his energies to vote himself into the possession of the shop; he will not be caught in the trap of the lie that HE pays the taxes; he will not be the cat's-paw for "reformers" and other capitalist swindlers. That is why it is so important to emphasize the fact that, under this capitalist system, Labor does not pay the taxes, but they are paid out of that part of the product of Labor that the working class is robbed of anyhow by the capitalist class.

B. J. (as mad as he can stick)—The first reformer or his heeler who talks taxation to me will get his nose punched flat.

U. S.—Would be no more than he deserved.

A N. Y. Policy Shop.

(Continued from page 2.)

workers from end to end. I hope Mr. Hearst will think again about the canal, and while he calculates the cost in lives, let him look to France and Panama, and caluclate the dollars lost and honor with them. "Strategic bases in the West Indies," says Mr. Hearst. We have them, but what the workers need is strategic bases at Pullman and Hazelton.

And the "Journal" was for the war with Spain, and now it is for expansion. Of the first says the "Journal", of Feb. 15, 1899: "It [the "Journal"] did try to bring on the war, demanded it, begged for it." When the "Journal" is summing up the war's record of glory it should turn back to its own columns of Aug. 28, 1898, and remember the "floating hells, the sick being treated as ailing animals would not be treated by humane men"; "the horrible slaughter of American soldiers by the preventable disease and starvation, which have proved far more deadly than the bullets of Spain"; "soldiers have died by the score for want of the care that nurses could have given them," and the "camps pitched on unfit sites, apparently in the interests of transportation companies, and crowded graveyards are the consequence." True, the "Journal" of the same date added: "Expose and punish the murderers of the soldiers of the Republic!" The "Journal" did all that it could to get the war, and got it. I will not charge that Mr. Hearst will not do all he can to bring to just punishment the "murderers of the soldiers of the Republic," but he will not succeed. Let the working class consider the above record of the "Journal," taken from the "Journal," and see wherein their interests have been served by that newspaper. Editorially Mr. Hearst is for expansion and will tell you Cuba and Porto Rico are, the Philippines are to be, free. But read the news columns of that same paper, and you will find that the workers of those islands are becoming the slaves of those same criminal Trusts that Mr. Hearst would have us believe he is fighting so valiantly. Even a correspondent of the New York "Sun" has cabled that there are no opportunities for Americans in the Philippines save those who have or who represent large capital.

The above is the programme laid down by a man who pretends to be the friend of workingmen. After a moment's consideration, what would an intelligent workingman think of it? Not Andrew Carnegie, Frick, Seward Webb, George M. Pullman come to life, could for all the dirty dollars of the earth conceive a programme better calculated to deceive and destroy the working class and cut that last remaining "slender shred of liberty." The best summing up of the "Journal's" patriotism is expressed in the incidents of "Remember the Maine" and "Buy the New York 'Journal.'"

So much for the "Journal's" National Policy. Recently that paper has put forth what it calls an Internal Policy. What a pity Mr. Hearst did not have one living principle rather than two policies. However, here's the last from the "Journal" policy shop: "Public ownership of public franchises; destruction of criminal Trusts; a graduated income tax; election of Senators by the people; national, State and municipal improvement of the public school system." There are some persons who, on reading the above, will say: "How progressive; how radical; how Socialistic." Concerning the last item, it may be said that there is no political party in the United States that will oppose it save Mr. Hearst's and Mr. Bryan's own Democratic and Populist parties in those portions of the South where they have, and those other portions where the Democratic party is about to, disfranchise the negro so that he may remain a more docile and willing wage slave. I sincerely hope that, when Mr. Hearst deals with the school question, he will make an especial effort to circulate his paper in those localities. As to what good purpose would be served by the election of United States Senators by the people under present conditions is somewhat obscure, save in so far as it would add to the political duties and opportunities of the people. Surely Mr. Hearst does not suppose that it would greatly change the personnel of the Senate for the better. If so, we should like him to point out the superiority of our State Senates, now elected by the people. Here in the State of New York we find that the Republicans and Democrats elect Flower (by the way, has Mr. Hearst enlisted this Democratic worthy in his Trust-busting scheme?) and Morton, Hill and Black, and limit their party members to a choice between the exuberant Roosevelt and that minus quantity, Van Wyck. Is there any good reason to suppose that under capitalism capitalist parties and bosses that dictate nominations for Governors would not do the same with nominations for Senators? As to an income tax, is that in and of itself an object on the part of any intelligent man, save those members of the middle class who wish to relieve effects and not remove causes, and hope to lighten their own tax burden by shifting a part of it to others? Does Mr. Hearst think that the working class of America do not know that both England and Germany have an income tax, and that the condition of the working class of those countries is worse even than our own? Socialists favor a progressive income tax, not from the standpoint of Mr. Hearst and the middle class, of merely making capitalists contribute more to the support of the government, but as a legal means of expropriating the capitalist class of the wealth they have taken from the workers.

I need not consider the "Journal's" "Smash the Trusts" programme, for only a fool would attempt to carry it out, and only a pretender would seek to get others to assist him in such an effort. But I shall watch the "Journal's" efforts in this direction as closely as I have those of the "World." Let Mr. Hearst try his hand, and possibly we shall see him follow in the footsteps of those great Trust destroyers, John Sherman and Grover Cleveland. By that time there may be some other Mr. Hearst in New York journalism who will write as glowing ante-mortem eulogies for him as he has for them. It would no doubt be interesting as well as instructive to know to what extent Mr. Hearst's enmity to the Trusts is affected by his membership in the Associated Press. Also if he will have the valuable assistance of Mr. William C. Whitney, the Metropolitan Traction magnate, who is so actively engaged in "destroying" the Trusts by swallowing them alive and whole. Alfred Henry Lewis says in the New York "Verdict" of Dec. 26, 1898, that "the influence that owns the 'Journal' owns also some 11,000 shares of Metropolitan Traction, which it took on at something like $90 and which is now quoted at $200 [$246 a share now] a share." Could it possibly be that things like this might affect the editorial policy of the "Journal"? I greatly fear me that Mr. Hearst's idea of killing the Trusts is to smother them in his inside pocket.

Now to the first item of the "Journal's" internal policy: "Public ownership of public franchises." Seeing this advocated by the New York "Journal" were humurous were it not pathetic, considering that it may get some well intentioned persons to follow in its lead. An understanding of this one matter, and Mr. Hearst's connection therewith, will show both him and his paper to be what they really are—the one a policy writer, the other a policy shop.

Turning to the New York "Journal" of Friday, Oct. 1, 1897, I find printed as a part of the Democratic platform for the Greater New York Mayoralty campaign of that year the following: "We favor municipal ownership and municipal control of all municipal franchises."

The New York "Journal" supported that platform and advocated the election of the candidates nominated by the convention that adopted it. That ticket was elected. The successful candidates took office the following January. They have been in office more than a year. They are in power now. They have not up to this hour made one single move toward the carrying out of that programme in the sense in which it was understood. Voters generally supposed that "municipal ownership and municipal control of all municipal franchises" would involve municipal operation. But such is not necessarily the case. The city may own a thing and farm it out to some corporation to exploit. And in that Mayoralty campaign the only persons who by voice or print called attention to the obvious buncombe of the Democratic platform were the members of the Socialist Labor party. They had no assistance from the New York "Journal." On the contrary, that paper exploited that plank of the platform as just what it should be. To this moment the party elected on that platform has yet to manifest its intention to carry out even the letter of it by a first motion. I should be greatly pleased to hear Mr. Hearst narrate the benefits the city has received from the adoption of that plank in terms meaning exactly the same as the first item in his internal "policy."

If he was honest in his advocacy of that platform and its candidates, he has been sold—or was he bought? If he knew, as it would seem that any man familiar with the infamy that attaches to the New York Democracy must know, that that plank was put in the platform simply as so much bait to catch fish, a decoy duck to bring the voters within range, then the editor of the "Journal" is a dishonest man. Inasmuch as his paper still supported that same party in the State election of last year, when its candidate ran on a "feeble platform which said nothing" (N. Y. "Journal" of Nov. 11, 1898), and sang the praises of "Richard Croker's Victory," one has every reason to believe, not that the editor of the "Journal" was sold, but that he was bought; not that he was deceived, but that he was dishonest. And when he again comes up with the same proposition, with a little more radical talk, we have every reason to suppose that he is once more putting out his little confidence game on the working class. He will catch none who voted for the Socialist Labor party. They know that not even municipal operation of municipal industries is an especial object where the capitalist class control the municipality.

All the above of Mr. Hearst without the slightest malice or ill-feeling. Had he greater breadth of brow, it might profit him. Being capitalist, he almost has a right to be dishonest. Those who are not capitalists certainly have a right to protect themselves. I have no desire needlessly to tread upon a worm. Nor harm the tiger in his jungle. But when the man-eating tiger of capitalism hides his face behind a domino labeled "Socialistic" and seeks to cloak his stripes and secrete his claws behind a sheepskin, after eating the sheep, he should understand that a time may come when he will be unmasked and compelled to appear in his true character.

As to Mr. Hearst's motives, they at least are clear. Having a mind that plots rather than plans, much of cunning and little of wisdom, he thinks he sees the drift of the times. He knows the progress that Socialism has made, and the greater progress that it is to make. So thinking, he seeks a place near the head of the procession—not to lead it to Socialism, but away from Socialism, into some bypath of capitalism and profit. Banking on the following of those of whom slang hath it "one is born every minute," he flatters himself that he can lead that army into the shambles of the Democratic party. Some matters of importance, however, he overlooks. He forgets the history of the Democratic party. Since Jackson's day that party, with few exceptions born of the exigencies of the passing moment, has a record that would shame a Judas. There have been many noble individuals in that party. But the party has gone to the bad wholly. Robbers have restored their plunder to their victim, murderers can repent, lewd women may reform if not atone. Not so with corrupted political parties. Once gone wrong, ever after, in power or out of power, ever after they warm themselves to sin. The Democratic party is not and will not become an exception. Thomas B. Reed (than a Hearst no better and no worse) described the Democracy truly as the "party of proud promise and paltry performance." For a Tilden defeated once, it staggers under the load of Cleveland twice successful; and years after Tweed is overthrown, Croker enthroned shows that the poison still is in its very blood and bone.

Mr. Hearst has had a great opportunity in life. The possession of his great wealth made him a giant in the industrial world. And he has so far used it with all the tyranny and brutality that a giant could. I think Mr. Homer Davenport could make quite an interesting picture of the giant Hearst and that army of little newsboys whose earnings were reduced less than a year ago. Of course Mr. Hearst did not reduce the earnings of his printers, or stereotypers, or pressmen. They at least were strong enough to make a fight—I do not say to win it. They were organized, and could pass resolutions endorsing Mr. Hearst and the "Journal," or even resolutions of condemnation, on a hard pinch; and they had leaders to be patronized, and among them men so great they needs must have an employer or they could not work, and other men so small (yet leaders) they'd doubt their own existence did they not see their names in print over a prize eulogy for this great friend of the working class. And, doubtless most important of all to Mr. Hearst, these men had votes. It would never do to give them offense. But the little newsboys, the weaklings of the working class; these little merchants of intelligence had no unions; they had no votes. Their wages could be cut by increasing the price they must pay for their commodity (the "Journal") without increasing the price charged the consumer. In reducing wages the capitalist always seeks the line of the least resistance. Mr. Hearst found that line. So the wages of his poorest and most necessitous employés were reduced. The method was by raising the price they must pay for papers. However, it's all in the day's work under capitalism. So Mr. Hearst will tell you, too. Then why don't he work to destroy capitalism? Because within his vision there's no great political office to be had by so doing. And no profit.

Doubtless this article will be by some considered vituperative, abusive, malicious, etc. It merely has to do with facts. Of Mr. Hearst, the private individual, I have neither knowledge nor interest. I am dealing with the public newspaper and its public utterances. Viewed on the whole, they form an awkward shape. Worse still, they are contradictory. The honor of the editor and his writings are impossible of coincidence. Possibly Mr. Hearst did not write all that I have quoted. But his is the responsibility. He needs at least one additional employé on his paper, or else should make a transfer. If need be, let him dispense with the services of the keeper of the pins and hire a Chief Reviser of the Lies.

I would not discourage Mr. Hearst. He may be successful, as he conceives success. He will get great office, mayhap. Given opportunity, he may achieve a niche in the temple of fame, or infamy (which?), beside that occupied by Grover Cleveland. And while Cleveland will be jealous, and, though moribund, or dead indeed, still will swell and try to crowd him out, none else will envy W. R. Hearst his place.

With his enormous wealth Mr. Hearst might have been a mighty force for good and progress in this generation, had he only been endowed with political integrity and courage. As it is, any honest man without a dollar may do more.

BEN HANFORD.

"The Class Struggle" will be the subject of an illustrated free lecture with stereoptican views by B. F. Keinard, on Monday, March 6, 8 p. m., at Utah House, 300 Eight avenue, corner of 25th stret, New York. The same lecture will also be delivered on Thursday, March 9, 8 p. m., at Joshua Hall, 161 Eighth avenue, corner of 18th street. This is the beginning of a series of illustrated lectures which will be held in the 7th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 22nd, 24th, 26th, and 30th Assembly Districts, Borough of Manhattan, for the purpose of organizing English-speaking Branches of the Socialist Labor party.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Casson and "Cold Lead McKisson"—Tell-Tale Straws from Cleveland, O.

To THE PEOPLE.—The comrades everywhere will surely be interested in knowing how "Reform" is run in our Forest City.

Be it remembered that Cleveland is not so very far away from Toledo where people already rejoice in the possession of a "Socialist" Mayor. The fame of Toledo's Mayor Jones has kept our own Republican Mayor McKisson from sleeping, until he also has come out for the "municipal ownership" of street railways, gas, etc., etc.

For many years in succession, the Democrats have suffered defeat, and have now no prospect of success. Consequently the interest of all the capitalist politics for-spoils politicians has concentrated upon the Republican primaries; to be nominated upon the Republican ticket is almost equivalent to election. McKisson has already been twice in succession successful; he is now 4 years Mayor. During this period he has fitted out a political machine that is not second even to New York's Tammany Hall. Even our own party, that polled at the last election 2,254, has seemed to him important enough to cause him to trick out with some "Socialist" outfit his demagogic "municipal ownership" pretences, in the hope thereby to catch some of our unguarded voters.

The memory must still be green of last fall's great strike among the wire and nail workers of the Wire Trust. It was brought to a close by a Court injunction, and a large number of the prominent strikers landed on the black-list,—among them some members of the Socialist Labor party. McKisson provided some of the black-listed men with city jobs, in order to give the impression of his being "friendly to labor," because, just at that season his reputation was in need of repairs; during the great Brown strike he had caused the strikers to be rudelessly clubbed and shot down, on account of which he had earned the title of "Cold Lead McKisson."

The Ruskin "Coming Nation" recently bestowed great praise upon these two Mayors —Jones and McKisson—, and boasted of the two being subscribers for the paper and of their making propaganda for it.

With these several items as background the following incident will be appreciated:

Tuesday of last week, Herbert N. Casson, the now Editor of the "Coming Nation," was here and held a meeting. The whole muddle-headed element of the town, consisting of Anarchists, Populists, McKisson heelers and also Debs Democrats attended. The gist of Casson's address was that organization was unnecessary in order to introduce Socialism and that it was of no consequence who introduced Socialism. He accounted for the differences in Socialist Movement by the differences in national characteristics. Being questioned whether he did not think that the Socialists of America should organize like the Socialists of Germany, he answered saying that America could not be Germanized. Thereupon there was great applause from the Debs Democrats. To an other question, whether he would advise the workingmen to vote for McKisson, he declined to answer saying that that was a personal question.

In view of the fact that the gentleman who officiated as chairman of the meeting is a McKisson heeler named Claud Taylor, who holds a city job as Bridge Watchman, THE PEOPLE'S readers can readily imagine the real answer that Casson would have liked to make.

At the Central Labor Union the process of fermentation is going on. The pure and simple organizations that joined just before the election of officers in order to beat the Socialists are beginning to withdraw again now that they were beaten. Two of these, the carpenters and the stone cutters, have pulled out. This is due to the activity of the wardheelers in these bodies.

We have in this town several "Socialists —but," who will not pardon our class struggle. Among the loudest of these is Dr. Wooldridge, who, about 8 years ago, betrayed the celebrated "work" entitled "The Way out of the Wilderness." This way of out of the wilderness has taken him safely into the McKisson camp, where, on election day, he will meet again some of his friends of the Debs Democracy.

CLEVELANDER.

Cleveland, O., Feb. 23.

An "Answer" to Comrade Keep's Reminiscenses.

To THE PEOPLE.—May I, as an English comrade, who has spent as many YEARS as Comrade Keep has DAYS in England, be permitted to make a few remarks in reply to his English Reminiscences?

Mr. Keep belongs to that class of very fresh young men, who doubt not their own ability to run the whole universe unaided.

Two years ago, he spent about a fortnight in England, during which time, according to his own opinion, he learned (from imaginary costermongers in public-house bars, and similar authorities) sufficient of the Socialist movement in that country to render him competent to fill a post as advisary counsel to the English Socialist movement.

His wrath towards the movement on the other side appears to be mainly due to Mr. Hyndman's failure to recognize Mr. Keep as the greatest living authority on English affairs, and a a solace to his wounded vanity he now indulges in senseless raillery, what to him appears, the stupidity of those upon the other side.

All that he says about the failure of the English Socialists to recognize the necessity for electoral reforms, only exposes his utter ignorance of the movement there, seeing that both parties emphasize in their respective programmes the necessity for such reforms. This same ignorance is again exhibited when he advises the policy of concentrating all efforts upon this one question. Apparently he is not aware that that policy has long been tried by the official liberal party, in their endeavor to catch the workers' votes. The great lesson that the English workers have to learn is, that merely getting the vote does not ensure to them freedom and liberty, unless they know how to use it when obtained; a lesson the Socialists could not teach them by simply concentrating their whole force upon this one measure of reform. When he assumes that Mr. Thorne did not recognize the necessity for demanding electoral reform until he, Mr. Keep, made the suggestion, he is asking us to believe too much. Those who know Mr. Thorne will smile at such a suggestion.

As to the "foolish and undignified" aspect of the English movement, I am not surprised to know that it appeared that way to one whose knowledge seems mostly to have been gained from imaginary conversations, with public-house loafers. One feels tempted to inquire who paid for the drinks?

The argument adduced that an English Socialist speaker when declaiming against the folly of workingmen returning capitalistic politicians to legislative bodies, happened to be looking towards a man who had no vote, is foolish and child-like, and only serves to exhibit Mr. Keep's anxiety to find fault.

The charges he levels against the leaders of the movement he probably learned from that source to which I have previously referred. To accuse them of being merely visionaries, and dreamers, is to close one's eyes to the FACTS concerning the actual practical work done by these men; which facts, even Mr. Keep can ascertain for himself, if he will spend less time drinking with promiscuous costermongers in public-house bars, and devote more time to studying the history of the English movement.

Concerning his remarks relative to those Socialists who have gained seats upon municipal bodies by false pretences, let him cite the actual cases he refers to, also where he gains his information about the manner in which they spend their time when elected. Probably these interesting details were also furnished by one of his public-house acquaintances.

When Mr. Keep objects to the desire which he believes the English have to dictate policy to the whole world, even he, I think, will admit that they would be willing to divide the work among a committee of their leaders, whilest he considers himself capable of doing the whole lot unassisted.

One fact Mr. Keep must bear in mind is, that the English people differ from the Americans in training, and character and political institutions. These differences are FACTS which have to be considered when attempting to organize them; and their leaders show their practical sense when they take such things into consideration.

You cannot command that every plant shall be an oak tree, nor every human being shall have a mind of a Keep.

When next Mr. Keep goes to England, let him go there as a student, and he will probably learn that the English movement is very diffreent from what it appears to be to his public-house friends.

The English will be quite prepared to learn from Mr. Keep anything he has to teach them regarding the movement in America, but when he, after a fourteen-days' trip to England, presumes to dictate to them how to manage their affairs, he cannot blame them if they treat his advice as a piece of unwarrantable conceit.

That the English adopt somewhat different methods from those of the Americans is due to the somewhat different conditions that prevail there. If Mr. Keep does not understand these differences either let him make haste to learn them, or else let him content himself with assisting to run the American movement and leave to others the management of that part of the globe which he has neither the experience nor the knowledge to fit him to undertake the control of.

Yours fraternally,

A. L. VOGL.

New York, Feb. 18.

The Power of Socialist Education.

To THE PEOPLE.—I believe that your answer given to Comrade Louis Dworshack, of Duluth, Minn., in regard to economic questions and particularly the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance will be sufficient to give him, as to many others, a clear understanding of those questions. I have nothing to add to the subject, except to indicate from Comrade Dworshack's expressions some of the difficulties that Socialism has to contend with.

What I infer from the correspondent's remarks is, this: That the PURE and SIMPLE trade unions of to-day are unable to scare the capitalists, the employers of labor, but that the S. T. & L. A. would be a formidable enemy which capitalists would by all means try to annihilate,—contrary to what is done actually with our pure and simple trade unions. This opinions indicate that the comrade has realized the weakness and failure of the former and the power of the latter; why then has he no confidence in what he has "a great deal of faith in"?

I understand that, because the employers of labor control the economic powers, it is believed in some quarters that workingmen must remain quiet, passive and peaceable, although not contended. The comrade says correctly that capitalists control the economic powers, but he fails to think of the political powers that have been required in the creation of our economic conditions; of those powers that control all others, and that dictate to trade unions what they must do and what they must not do. Indeed, capitalists control the economic powers, but they could not do so if the people had control of the political powers that created them; pure and simple economics have no power to regulate politics, but politics can regulate economics. Briefly, politics and economics are one and inseparable in the practice and daily relations of society and antagonistic interests of individuals.

For the people to obtain the control of politics is the easiest matter in the world, if it is once understood that the two questions are inseparable; the only problem to solve is in the education of the people, through experience and evolution, of scientific teachings. Now, science, which is progress, constantly throw out of employment labor in all branches of industry and even agricultural fields; nothing but the wonderful development and improvement of machinery has cast on the paths of vagrancy the 200,000 coal miners referred to by Comrade Dworshack. Does he believe that by disfranchising on election day those 200,000 miners, already without work or sufficient means of existence, the capitalists, when compelled to look for safety on the battlefield chosen by Socialism and the S. T. & L. A., would thereby annihilate or disrupt the forces of the S. T. & L. A. allied with Socialism? Capitalists cannot to-day disfranchise the people through their governments without upsetting the foundation upon which they stand through ignorance of the people, and they know it. If the 200,000 unemployed coal miners of the United States could be used to club the Socialist organizations out of existence—coal miners' Socialist Alliances, for instance—, this would prove the fact that those people were not under the banner of Socialism and that they lacked the benefits of the work of education now going on. The several millions of unemployed of this country, commonly called tramps, cannot be used by capitalism forever against the truth, reason, justice and brotherhood of Socialism, because their stomach would be empty and they would be deprived of their right to vote. Review the situation of little Belgium for the last ten years and we will see that when the common people are disfranchised, the appearance of Socialism is powerful enough to demand and obtain recognition of the right and exercise of the vote; but observe how in that country labor organizations and political questions have been connected. What is true of Belgium is true to a great extent in Germany and France. Capitalism cannot take the right of the ballot from the workingmen; but Socialism can obtain it for them from capitalist rule where the suffrage did not exist.

Forward, march!

ACHILLE FERRETTY.

Cecile, Pa., Feb. 20.

As to Expressions.

I.

To THE PEOPLE.—Since THE PEOPLE has invited the literary inclined readers to try their gums on the question of the advisability of using such expressions as "blood sucking parasites" in refrence to the capitalists, the question having been raised by Mr. Boult in Feb. 5th issue, I hereby apply for a turn at the question, and hope that I may cut a tooth thereby.

Whether Mr. Boult is right or wrong hinges on two points:

1st. Are capitalists blood sucking parasites?

2nd. If so, is it expedient to say so?

Mr. Boult denies the wisdom of the latter course, but says nothing about the first proposition. Every thought and movement of muscle burns up some blood which must be replaced by new blood; and as all value is but human labor in the abstract and all human labor, both mental and manual, can only be exercized by the consumption of blood, the person who consumes these values gets the benefits of this blood as surely as would any blood drinking animal with this same blood in his belly. If the recipient of these values, produced them or other equal values, all is well; but if he did not, then he is a parasite and a blood sucking parasite. Although the expression is used in figurative sense, it is as proper as hundreds of other figurative expressions. It, at the same time, is a MATERIAL FACT, that the capitalist class is a class of blood sucking parasites. Nothing pays for value except value; and no work, no value; no blood, no work. If value is received and none given there is your blood sucking parasite. If value is given without the giver having created the value given he has been a blood sucking parasite. If the value received or given was from another parasite, the blood sucking parasite is still in the field with another like him, and although "fleas do have still other fleas to bite 'em" they still remain fleas, not something else.

As to expediency, to tell the truth is the only enduring plan, machevialism to the contrary notwithstanding. And although the blood sucking parasite may be our brother, the rule works both ways; we can consider how he is sucking his brother's blood, and we are as much his keeper as he is ours, and self-defence and horse sense are on our side to boot.

O. N. E. LACKALL.

Polk, Pa., Feb. 18.

II.

To THE PEOPLE.—I have had a talk with Comrade Boult in regard to this matter and from what I can gather he agrees with the S. L. P. of Canada, of which he is a member, that the capitalist class generally, and Vanderbilt & Co. in particularly, ARE blood sucking parasites.

But, and here is where the "buts" of our broad and liberal friends always come in, do not state the facts in such a plain, unvarnished way as others whom we are seeking to influence would put it down as course abuse. Now I submit that the terms used are not only NOT ABUSIVE, but that they exactly express the condition of the wage working proletariat who are blood-sucked by the parasitical capitalist class.

It is one of the biologic terms which are found to be specially useful in describing the symptoms and conditions of the social organism.

Mr. Boult is not alone in his mistake with regard to the motives of the S. L. P. in using plain and forcible language in addressing the workers. It is usually the man who has an axe to grind who wants to modify expressions to suit the enemy, but Comrade Boult does not come under this category, for I know he is an honest enthusiast for the cause.

However, our party would betray the interests of the proletariat were it to modify its noble resolve to tell the truth at all hazards about capitalism and the capitalist class. It will always pay to do right, no matter who is offended thereby. Call a spade a spade, comrades, not a farm implement. A farm implement may be anything from a hoe to a harrow, but you make no error in calling a spade by its right name.

Real politeness being based on the desire to improve, I claim it is the very essence of politeness to tell the truth on such a vital point.

In the "Appeal to Reason" of Oct. 1 1898, appeared a poem: "The Voice of the Poor," by Comrade Boult, who contributes to that paper under the pen name of "Samuel King." The first two verses are as follows:

I've waited long, I've wandered far
To find the promised land,
And all I find, before, behind,
A FLUNDERER'S THIEVING HAND.

I've waited long, I've wandered far,
As thousands like me do,
And all I see is poverty
AND SHYLOCK'S MURDERING CREW.

These expressions are pretty good for one who objects to the term "blood sucking parasites," applied to the capitalist class.

It is a painful duty to thus show up the inconsistency of my friend and comrade, and I do so only that others who are fond of objecting to the plain, uncompromising, truthfulness of our party press may take the lesson to be learned from it.

Those Socialists who are offended by simple truthfulness are suffering from a confusion of thought on the Social Question, and their place is not with the revolutionary S. L. P. until they learn from experience that a movement of the proletariat has everything to gain and nothing to lose by boldly calling things by their right names.

The capitalist parties and their decoy ducks, the labor fakirs, are the people who need lies and abuse to bolster up their cause.

I was pleased to see that our National Editor takes this view, as shown by his placing Alice Carey's instructive lines at the head of the editorial column some weeks ago.

Children who read my lay
This much I have to say:
This day and every day
Do what is right
In things both great and small,
Then tho' the skies shall fall,
Sun, moon and stars and all,
You shall have light!

ARTHUR SPENCER.

Vancouver, B. C.

[There are numerous other letters in this office in answer to the question raised by Comrade Boult. They are all against the stand taken by the comrade, and in defense of the term "blood sucking parasites" and its use,—the same as all the others that have been published. Not one answer has come forward in opposition. In view of the circumstance that the discussion has now been going on for five weeks, and of the further circumstance that all the communications are on one side of the question, the floor will now be given to Comrade Jas. N. Boult, of Vancouver, to close the discussion, if he chooses.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

F. M., TACOMA, WASH.—Your first question is answered in this issue's Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan column. Read it more than carefully; study it; it will ballast your ship and keep her head steady to the wind ever after.

As to the second question, the workers, meaning thereby the working class as a whole, can not now any longer better their condition under the existing system. By this is understood that they can not do so while upholding the present system. A betterment of their condition, while the system still lasts, is possible only when the working class is class-consciously on the march to overthrow the present, or capitalist system. In that way, even before capitalism is overthrown, a betterment of proletarian conditions could be attained: the self-respecting, intelligent, aggressive posture of such a proletariat would have for its immediate effect that the capitalist class would pull in its horns and not dare to keep the screws down as tight, let alone tighten them still more, as it does now; and it would have as its further effect that the capitalist class would begin to even throw out sops, tubs to the proletarian whale, in the hope of keeping it quiet;—all of which would be betterments. For all these reasons the "pure and simple" union is to-day utterly incapable of at all bettering the condition of the workers, meaning the whole working class.

U. W. B., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Letourneau's work IS advertised in these columns. You will find it frequently in the Labor News Company's notice of books, etc.

Your article on "Capital Punishment" has not been received. If it comes and does not trent the matter clean out of proportion and prespective, we shall gladly publish it. The reason THE PEOPLE has not taken up that question is that THE PEOPLE abstains as much as possible from doing that which might give preponderance to matters, that, excellent though they are, like the abolition of capital punishment, do by no means go to, or shed any light upon, the root of the Social Question. There is no capital punishment in Holland, and yet capitalism is there in force with a crushed-to-dust proletariat for its groundwork. We must be on our guard not to be captivated by our good heart to our own undoing. Capitalism would gladly abolish capital punishment everywhere if, by doing so, it could captivate the proletarian feeling of humanity, and secure the workers' support for that disguised but actually wholesale capital-punishment-system of CAPITALISM.

J. P. C., NEW YORK.—We have not the remotest idea what organization the man represents in the rehash known as the "Central Federated Union" of this city. Possibly he is the delegate of the "Mixed Ale Club."—Hold! Coming to think of it, he may be representing the "Amalgamated Association of Empire Horse-Tail Scrubbers."

C. S., NEW YORK.—The house a man lives in and owns is not capital; nor does that house become capital by his turning around and selling it. Capital—speaking generally—is that form and quantity of wealth that enables a man to draw revenue from it without his working for that revenue; that enables him thereby to live wholly or partly upon wages withheld from Labor.

E. O. C., WICHITA, KANS.—The hypothesis that you advance is simply impossible, or so wholly beyond the bounds of probability as to deserve to be ranked with impossibilities. It is an improbability that verges on the impossible to imagine the Government of the city of Greater New York in the hands of the Socialist Labor party, and at the same time the State and Federal Government wholly in the hands of the capitalist parties. The vote requisite to carry Greater New York is so large that it is not possible to imagine its going unaccompanied by a very large S. L. P. vote in the State and throughout the Nation. The Greater New York carried by the S. L. P. would mean, at the very least, a large number of Federal, proportionally, still larger number of State offices likewise carried by the S. L. P. Under such circumstances the victorious Greater New York S. L. P. would proceed forthwith to enforce its programme,—and it would succeed. It would be the signal for the Revolution. The capitalist attempts, through Federal and State Governments (supposing the capitalists still held there the majority) to thwart the fiat of the people expressed at the ballot box, would be then resented throughout the nation. Greater New York would not then stand alone. Kansas would be among the first to send her contingent of aid. All or most of the other States will follow fast, each faster than the other. Can you doubt the issue? Never doubt!

Hence the S. L. P. agitates, educates and organizes upon a National basis.

J. B., JR., NEWBURYPORT, MASS.—Your letter in the "Daily News" of your town covers the matter quite intelligently. Those people who use the words "evolu-

tion" and "revolution" as contradistinguished show that they have only a very superficial knowledge of the terms they bandy about.

Evolution is all progress or development from within. "Evolution" is, consequently, a generic term and embraces "Revolution." Every "Revolution" is but a stage of "Evolution." "Revolution" may be defined as "the acute state of Evolution." From the moment a child is generated, down to the time when, in its old age, it sinks in its grave, and beyond that, there is what may be broadly called "evolution." At certain stages along that line, the evolution is so acute that it is "revolution." Such a stage is the moment of birth. While all that then happens is essentially "Evolutionary;" the stoppage of the navel string to perform its hitherto functions, and the simultaneous development of lungs and other organs to divide its former functions among themselves is so drastic, so acute an "Evolutionary" process that it becomes "Revolutionary."

In capitalist society, the "Evolutionary" process has been going on and is going on by the concentration and Trustification of the requisite machinery of production and distribution; the further, natural and inevitable transition from that stage to the social stage when the naval-string of private ownership of that machinery shall be cut and collective ownership established is essentially "Evolutionary"; nevertheless, like with the birth of man, the "Evolution" is so acute in its nature that it receives the specific designation of "Revolution." Revolution is underscored Evolution.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting of Feb. 21, with H. Stahl in the chair. Absent, Sauter. The financial report for the week ending Feb. 18 shows: receipts, $141.90; expenditures, $46.54.

Section St. Louis reported the expulsion of Rudd Bersch for affiliation with the Republican party. Other expulsions were reported by this Section, but the report was not clear and the Secretary was instructed to obtain further information.

P. Murphy was elected a member of the House Committee of the Labor Lyceum.

Section Los Angeles, Cal., sent a draft of by-laws for inspection and the same were turned over to a special committee. An application for membership at large from Alabama was referred to the State Committee of that State.

L. H. Chappel, of Plymouth, Mich., sent his resignation as a member at large, stating at length his reasons which are in substance that he can not agree with the theory of the class struggle; the letter, being of considerable general interest, was ordered published.

The Secretary reported to have taken steps to establish communication with the Socialist organizations of San Juan, Porto Rico, with a view to have them affiliate with the S. L. P. of the United States.

Section Milwaukee reported the suspension of John Kubasch and Karl Weiss for breach of party discipline.

Charters were granted to new Sections in: Lima, Ohio; and Richmond County, N. Y.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

Maryland.

BALTIMORE.—Regular General Section meetings 2nd Sunday in March, June, September and December, at Labor Lyceum, 515 W. Lombard street.

City Central Committee:—Organizer, R. T. Maycumber, 1924 Christian street; Treasurer, Chas. F. Mannel, 777 Columbia avenue.

Branch Delegates:—Central Branch No. 1, Theo. Meyer, 1841 Eagle street; Central Branch No. 2, Robert Stevens, 632 Columbia avenue; 19th Ward Branch, Rudolph Eleman, 345 Forrest street; 22nd Ward Branch, Antone Beacklein, 812 Burgundy avenue; 2nd Ward Branch, Edward Coleman, 645 W. Baltimore street.

Central Committee meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Labor Lyceum, 515 W. Lombard street.

Central Branch No. 1 meets every Sunday, at Labor Lyceum, 10 a. m. Organizer, Theo. Meyer; Recording Secretary, Theobald Meyer; Financial Secretary, Chas. L. Heine, 416 W. Franklin street.

Central Branch No. 2 meets every Sunday, at 2 p. m., at Labor Lyceum. Organizer, R. T. Maycumber; Recording Secretary, T. J. Connelly; Financial Secretary, Joseph Schafer, 1935 Lemmon street; Treasurer, Robert Stevens.

19th Ward Branch meets every 2nd Sunday, 3 p. m., Forrest street. Organizer, Hiram Heinrich, 305 Forrest street; Recording Secretary, Jacob Leidlich; Financial Secretary, Wilhelm Losse, 2009 Mary Anna street; Treasurer, Albert Puerschel.

22nd Ward Branch meets every Monday, 8 p. m., at 777 Columbia avenue. Organizer, Herman Leng, 1119 Pinkney street; Recording Secretary, Wm. F. Raeks; Financial Secretary, Herman Yentsch, 1153 Pinkney street; Treasurer, Albert Braecklein.

2nd Ward Branch meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m. at Labor Lyceum. Organizer, Edward Coleman; Recording Secretary, Wm. Mark; Financial Secretary, Frank Hartman, 120 E. Eutaw street; Treasurer, Richard Feder.

New members being added to the rolls of the Branches at nearly every meeting. The comrades have gone into the municipal election with the following candidates, all tried and true: For Mayor, Theobald Meyer, cigarmaker; for Comptroller, Henry Simon, cabinet maker; for President 2nd Branch City Council, Wm. Whipkey, carpenter; for Member of 1st Branch City Council, 22nd Ward, Chas. F. Mannel, shoemaker. The comrades in the 19th Ward will nominate a candidate for the City Council at an early date. In the 19th and 22nd Wards the S. L. P. is an official party, having polled over one per cent. of the total vote in the Congressional election last fall, and we expect to roll up a good vote in these Wards next May.

Massachusetts.

PEABODY.—Section Peabody, only shortly organized, has entered the town election with the following candidates:

Selectman—Peter H. Grady.
Assessor—James F. Kelly.
School Committee—Fred E. Oelcher.
Overseer of the Poor—John E. Eustece.

We are holding two public meetings every week: at our meeting to-day Comrades M. T. Berry, of Haverhill, and Joseph Malony, of Winchester, spoke to halls crowded to the door. Such a meeting has never been witnessed in this town. Next Thursday, Comrade Peare, of Section Lynn, will speak, next Sunday Comrade Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, and Comrade Louis Wolfson, of Haverhill.

Michigan.

DETROIT.—The Socialist Labor party will hold a mass convention at Tinnett's Hall, cor. of Rivard and Catharine streets, in the city of Detroit, State of Michigan, and County of Wayne, on Monday March 6, 1899, at 7:30 p. m. sharp, for the purpose of placing in nomination names for such offices as are to be elected at the election to be held on Monday, April 3, 1899. All members of the party or those who intend to support the ticket are requested to be present and take part in same.

STANLEY KLEINDIENST, Chairman.
GEO. A. EASTMAN, Secretary.

New Jersey.

NEWARK.—The city convention will be held at the hall of the Essex County Socialist Club. Nominations for Board of Street and Water Commissioners, School Commissioners, Aldermen, Justice of the Peace, and Constable in each Ward are to be made. Comrades are requested to attend.

A. P. WITTET, Secretary.

New York.

SECTION GREATER NEW YORK.—Report of the Proceedings of the General Committee, Feb. 25, 1899.

Meeting at 64 East 4th street. Delegates R. Katz and A. S. Brown presided. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. Delegate H. Vogt then asked the floor on privileged matter, in connection with the reading of the minutes. He reads the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, At the last meeting of this General Committee a call was received from the National Executive Committee for the general vote of the members of Section New York on the nominees for National Secretary and for members of the National Executive Committee; and

"WHEREAS, A discussion was then had for the purpose of imparting, through the delegates, to the members of the Section such information, criticism or recommendation on the several candidates, as might be submitted; and

"WHEREAS, In the course of said discussion Delegate H. Vogt, in criticism of the nomination of E. Kichner Jr., made the following specific statements of fact:

"1. That Kichner had assisted one D. Steffen in starting a campaign of slander against the management of the "N. Y. Volkszeitung" and that he had done so by furnishing garbled information from the books and papers of the "N. Y. Volkszeitung" accessible to him by reason of the position of trust he then held in the "Volkszeitung" office.

"2. That Kirchner in the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association supported the election as a Director of Rudolph Modest, a notorious enemy of the party, and also supported said Modest in the proceedings brought against him because of his having become an organizer of the Debs Democracy and because of his issuance of a slanderous leaflet attacking the party press and the party itself.

"3. That Kirchner in the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association was working in league with an element, partly composed of Anarchists, Debsites and other enemies of the party, an element that was seeking to change the policy of the "Volkszeitung" into one of open hostility to the policy of the party. Part of the tactics of this element was an appeal to the prejudice of the German comrades through the charge that the upholders of the party policy were seeking by the establishment of the daily PEOPLE to ruin the "N. Y. Volkszeitung." That Kirchner, while in the Publishing Association acting with said element, sought in a double-faced way to rouse the prejudice of the friends of the daily PEOPLE movement outside the Publishing Association by charging the same supporters of the party policy with hostilizing the daily PEOPLE movement in the interest of the "N. Y. Volkszeitung";

"WHEREAS, Delegate Vogt on the same occasion made the following specific statements of fact in criticism of the nomination of H. Stahl:

"1. That Stahl had in the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association attacked the party policy and was supporting an element—the same element with which Kirchner was acting—which was at the present moment seeking to change the policy of the "Volkszeitung" into one of open hostility to the party policy.

"2. That Stahl, during the last campaign, had violated the trust of his office as a member of the National Executive Committee by issuing and authorizing the publication of a letter so calculated to create prejudice against the party, that the same was used by old party politicians as a campaign document against our party; and

"WHEREAS, The "N. Y. Volkszeitung," in its report of the proceedings of this General Committee, published on Sunday, Feb. 12, 1899, suppressed the facts specified by Delegate Vogt in criticism of the nominations of Kirchner and Stahl, but represented him as having, in general terms, charged Kirchner with being "engaged in various intrigues," and also represented Delegate Vogt as having, in general terms, charged Stahl with having "committed a breach of trust"; and

"WHEREAS, The "N. Y. Volkszeitung," in its issue of Feb. 14, 1899, published a letter of E. Kirchner, calling for the very facts that had been stated by Delegate Vogt and suppressed by the "Volkszeitung," and the "Volkszeitung" thereby confirmed the false impression as if no facts had been stated; and

"WHEREAS, The "Volkszeitung" further repeated and aggravated its own falsification by the publication on Feb. 21 of a second and insulting demand for the facts by E. Kirchner; and

"WHEREAS, The "Volkszeitung," in its issue of Feb. 18, 1899, published a letter by H. Stahl, discussing the criticism of Delegate H. Vogt as if it had been made in the general terms reported by the "Volkszeitung," but did not inform its readers that this false impression was due to its own suppression of the facts stated, the "Volkszeitung" thereby confirming this false impression; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the General Committee condemns the "N. Y. Volkszeitung" firstly for a gross breach of fact in at all giving publicity to a discussion which was clearly intended for the information of party members only;

"That this General Committee further condemns the "N. Y. Volkszeitung" for publishing a report of said discussion so incomplete and garbled as to amount to a falsification, and for aggravating this falsification by allowing the report to be discussed in its columns as if it had been correct and by failing to inform its readers that such was not the case;

"And in order to secure the publication of a proper report for the future, be it further resolved, that after each meeting such report be prepared by the Secretary and transmitted to THE PEOPLE and the 'N. Y. Volkszeitung.'"

Moved to adopt this resolution; amended to appoint a committee of three to investigate the matter.

By a special motion the reporter of the "Volkszeitung," then present, was granted the privilege of the floor in this matter.

Before proceeding to a vote, the Credentials Committee was granted the floor. It reported favorably on the following delegates:

New York—13th A. D., J. Holler, in place of C. Bahnsen; 14th A. D., Branch 2, Geo. Miller; 9th A. D., Branch 1, M. Cody.

Brooklyn—20th Ward Branch 2, Meyer Silberman.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Miss Theresa Serber, of the 32nd and 33rd A. D.'s, N. Y., who appeared without a credentials, was also seated.

The 23rd A. D., N. Y., sends two delegates, J. Nier and E. Neppel. As the District is entitled to but one delegate, J. Nier resigns in favor of E. Neppel, who was seated.

After a long and thorough debate on the resolution and the amendment, the latter was lost by a vote of 36 against 11, and the resolution adopted by a vote of 36 to 12.

A question being put to him, the chair declares that the adoption of this resolution does not exclude the reporter of the "Volkszeitung" from the General Committee.

Thirty-four new members were admitted. One application was rejected on the ground that the applicant does not intend to become a citizen of the United States.

Comrade Leib, a non-delegate, was granted the privilege of the floor. He states that he and Comrade Dressles were censured by the 34th and 35th A. D.'s, to which they belong, for having supported Modest in the "Volkszeitung" Publishing Association. The General Committee had upheld the Districts. Likewise the National Board of Appeals had refused to interfere. He asks that the General Committee reconsider its action.

Moved, that inasmuch as we consider a vote for Modest to have been an act of hostility to the best interests of the party, the request of Comrade Leib be denied. Carried.

A correspondence from the 16th A. D. preferring charges against a member of the District for withholding money due to it, was referred to the Grievance Committee.

The Entertainment Committee reports that it decided to recommend to have an excursion in the middle of June in two fast-sailing iron steamers with a capacity for 4,000 people, to be hired at an expense of $550. Tickets to cost 25 cents. The recommendation was concurred in.

Adjournment followed.

H. SIMPSON, Rec. Secretary.

Pennsylvania.

JEANETTE.—I am instructed to inform that the Italian comrades of Western Pennsylvania have decided to give their printing material to Jeanette Section S. L. P., for the establishment of "Le Bourdon," but with the proviso that in case "Le Bourdon" should cease publication the material will not be the property of Jeanette Section but shall be placed at the disposal of the Socialist Labor party.

FLORY MAURICOURT.

SOC. DIALECTICS

(Continued from page 1.)

capitalist government; the poor slave working for some capitalist, or the man working for the government? The rush for government positions answers the question. Many a man or woman indures conditions that are infamous, but has often to set his teeth and submit in silence to insults, which, though they cut like a lash, they are powerless to resent. Masters they can change, but master they must serve, and not until capitalism is abolished will they have economic freedom.

Nature does not seem to have gifted our critic with great powers of discernment, or he would not have got confused between the natural law, which underlies the development of society, and the statutory laws, which are made by man. We will help him out of the confusion he has got himself into by pointing out that it was the latter we referred to when we mentioned that we wanted.

LAW TO MAINTAIN ORDER.

If Mr. Burke would study the science of sociology, he would see that Socialism attempts nothing that is impossible, or ridiculous; he would also understand that mankind has passed through different stages (e. g.). There was the stage of slavedom, which gave way to by wagedom or capitalism, and capitalism is no more the finality than any of the other stages, but will surely give way to Socialism.

Capitalism is self-destructive, and what is most striking, is itself laying the foundation of the future State, by preparing the way for the Socialist Revolution. Its first act was the expropriation of the workers from the means of production. The next stage in which we are now in the midst, is the expropriation of the small capitalist by the large, and the concentration of capital through the play and pressure of competition into ever larger masses. Competition tends irresistibly to combination, and monopoly, which in productive industries are now taking the form of the trust. The unmistakably greater efficiency of massed capital, and business organization on a large scale, will sooner or later render the position of the small producer, and the small distributor untenable. They have as little chance in the struggle with these improved forms of commercial organization, as the handicraftsman had with the machines. Competition, whose regulative action is so vital to our present system, so largely adduced in its justification, is eliminating itself.

The question then will resolve itself into this: "Shall the people own the trusts, or shall the trusts own the people?" The former will, of course, take place, because the people can be trusted not to enslave themselves. They will therefore seize the trusts, and run them on a democratic basis, and produce goods for use and not for profits. When this takes place, every invention or improvement in methods of production, instead of making tramps of our citizens, will simply shorten the hours of labor, thus enabling "individuality" to develop to much higher planes than is possible under capitalism; then will exist the "bugaboo" called Socialism. This, according to our critics is very wicked and sinful.

With child-like innocence, Mr. Burke says: "There is no difference between property and capital." (Here he shows his knowledge of economics.) This, coming from a man, who represents an institution that claims a monopoly on logic, would be comical if it was not pathetic. Allow us to point out to him that a hammer is a tool, but

ALL TOOLS ARE NOT HAMMERS;

just the same with property. All capital is property, but all property is not capital. If our critic is right and we are wrong, then both Mr. Burke and the tramps on our highways who have a few clothes to cover them (which are property), are capitalists.

It was claimed by the admirers of a certain economist that he had at last reduced the economic laws to a science. Mr. Burke has now reduced the science to an absurdity.

By the way, if Mr. Burke has got a monopoly on logic, his accessory, Mr. Hall, must be illogical. We agree with him here, but this is rather tough on J. W. H.

Our critic says "that Socialism mystifies him." This is only to be expected of one whose mind has been dwelling so long amongst the dry bones of theology.

Oliver Wendell Holmes compares the dawning of a new idea to the turning over of a stone in a field. After describing all the blind, wriggling creatures which live beneath the stone, he says: "But no sooner is the stone turned and the wholesome light of day let in upon this compressed and blinded community of creeping things than all of them which enjoy the luxury of legs rush around wildly, butting each other in their underground retreat, from the region poisoned by sunshine." Let us encourage our critic not to imitate these creatures, but to keep his eyes fixed on the sunlight of Socialism, and we feel sure in saying that the mists will soon clear away and he will be able to see the profound truths expressed in the Socialist science.

Mr. Burke admits that there are grievous evils to be remedied, and he has a scheme all prepared to do the job. Listen, you scientists, and you practical men of affairs, to the remedy of the man who has got a monopoly on logic.

First: Every person must become a Catholic. Second: Then we can have a monastery on every hill, where you can retire to live in poverty, chastity, etc., when crushed out by the competitive struggle. Isn't that a beaut of a remedy? If it does not display intellectual bankruptcy, nothing does; from a scientific point of view, it is only equaled by the scheme of the 12 washerwomen, who, on being shipwrecked on a desolate island, tried to make a living by taking in each others washing. This remedy is harking back to the 14th century with a vengeance. Besides, our critic forgets that the Spaniards,

CUBANS AND FILIPINOS

have all these remedies, but from last reports did not seem to be in a very flourishing condition.

Mr. Burke insinuates that we have been trying to flatter him. On the contrary, the only thing upon which we can congratulate him is the ability he possesses of crowding more errors into less space than any person with whom we have had the pleasure of disputing. If he imagines that we have been "soft-soaping" him, that illusion will be rudely dispelled by our comrade, Joseph H. Malloney, who is going to answer his criticisms this afternoon at 531 Main street.

We should like to analyze all the errors of our critic, but want of space prevents us from doing so. We will conclude by giving an illustration of how deeply the reverend gentleman has studied Socialist literature by classing Proudhon and Rousseau as Socialists. This will be remarkable if true, especially when we take into consideration the fact that Rousseau had been dead 75 years before the science of Socialism came into existence.

PRESS COMMITTEE.
Socialist Labor party.
Worcester, Feb. 18.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$912.94
From E. Siff, N. Y., for picnic tickets of former Socialist Club of N. Y.	9.00
G. F. Lack, Providence, R. I.	.15
M. Braden, Cline, Tex.	.10
Cash, 34th and 35th A. D.'s, N. Y.	.25
Total	$922.44

Press Fund for the Workers' Republic, Dublin, Ireland.

Previously acknowledged	$47.00
Section Cleveland, Ohio	2.50
Total	$49.50

Daily PEOPLE Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$2,309.00
Penny collection in Boston Cigar Shop per S. T. Freedman	5.00
Phonograph collections at Grand Palace, Feb. 22, per Wiedmayer	6.02
Total	$2,320.02

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
—OF THE—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be excempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities(county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

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Trades' and Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Duane street, Room 96, New York City. General Secretary: William L. Brower. Financial Secretary Murphy. General Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3d and 5th Thursday evenings at 8 p. m. Secretary Board of Appeals: Max Keiler, 1016 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa. 333

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J. 186

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred. 26

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 331 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 10 Stanton street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 80th street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m.—District IV meets at 342 West 42d street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

EMPIRE CITY LODGE (MACHINISTS), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: PETER STAPLE. 272

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, NO. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 East 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Aug. Lantz, Corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th street. 261

SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB, S. L. P., 34th 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d ave. and 149th street. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P. Meets second and fourth Sunday of every month at 10:30 o'clock a. m. at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158-160 3d avenue, New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, Scand. Am. Arbetaren.

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTERS' & TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A. Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum. Regular meeting every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. 303

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF YORKVILLE meets every Monday evening at 206 E. 86th st. This Society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join. 341

WAITERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY" No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office: 257 E. Houston street. Telephone Call: 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m.

WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meeting every Monday evening, at 8 o'clock, in the Clubhouse, 528 East 11th street. English lectures every Sunday evening. Bowling alley and billiard room open every evening. Visitors welcome. 379

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Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3d avenue, Room 53, New York City.

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